UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Brave Turmoil

By WALTER WALSH

Parables of War and Peace

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Crux of the Humanist Matter

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

Kagawa of Japan

By GEORGE LINNAEUS THOMPSON

VOLUME CV NUMBER 9

Chicago, April 28, 1930

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

Subscription, $3.00 Per Annum

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE Pamphlet Mission FOR FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

Sidney Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
Jenkin Ll. Jones, Janesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. G. Leamon, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Francis L. Rogers, 65 Washington St., Chicago, Business Agent.
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 12, 1929, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1930 NUMBER 9

THE RIGHT TO WORK

As formulated long since by

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

"For every employe who is 'steady in his work,' there shall be steady work. The right to regularity in employment is co-equal with the right to regularity in the payment of rent, in the payment of interest on bonds, in the delivery to customers of the high quality of product contracted for. No business is successfully conducted which does not perform fully the obligations incident to each of these rights. Each of these obligations is equally a fixed charge. No dividend should be paid unless each of these fixed charges has been met. The reserve to ensure regularity of employment is as imperative as the reserve for depreciation; and it is equally a part of the fixed charges to make the annual contribution to that reserve. No business is socially solvent which cannot do so."

We can summon up no enthusiasm, nor even interest, for any discussion of the outcome of the London Naval Conference. This outcome is a disappointment of the hopes stirred by Hoover and MacDonald when the Conference was called, and the most staggering blow to the cause of peace since the Versailles Treaty of 1919. Of course, we must now witness the same performance that President Wilson staged when he returned from Paris loudly proclaiming that he had fulfilled his promises and was bringing home all that he had gone across the water to get. The claim was absurd and fooled nobody, but it was made none the less in a desperate attempt to cover up the most tragic diplomatic defeat of modern times. It would seem as though this game could never be played again. But here is Premier MacDonald solemnly announcing victory to the House of Commons and the English nation, and in all probability when Stimson and his delegation reach these shores we shall hear the same hypocritical assurances carefully prepared for American ears. If anything could be more disgusting than the London Conference itself, it would be this assertion that the Conference has really done something. As a matter of fact, it has done nothing at all so far as the cause of disarmament is concerned. On the contrary, it has wounded this cause beyond the capacity of many years to heal, first, by showing that the European nations cannot trust one another in the interest of peace, secondly, by writing a three-power treaty which constitutes in essence not a pact of peace but an alliance for war, and thirdly, by substituting the idea of limitation of navies for reduction of navies and thus actually providing for an increase of armaments. This, mind you, in the face of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty for "the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy" which was solemnly signed by all these conferees! If peace-lovers can extract anything but gall and wormwood from this brew, they are better optimists than we are.

The Shaw Report on Palestine is much on our mind. The more we ponder it, the more we think our Jewish friends are justified in their resentment against it. We find ourselves deeply moved by the solemn words of Rabbi David de Sola Pool, of New York, as quoted in the April 11th issue of the *Jewish Tribune*:

> Most painful of all is the studious calm of the commission's report. Its deathly cold phrases are untouched by even a spark of moral indignation against the violent lawlessness, unspeakable excesses, savage atrocity, rapine and murder. The people of the prophets, who dare to call iniquity by its own name, cannot understand a report so judicious and politic that it creates an impression that the handful of wilful Arab inciters of murder are the aggrieved party, and must be spoken of with mild and gentle words. All that the Jew asked is justice; the report of the commission gives him less than that.

Here is comment which passes beyond and beneath all details of the letter of the Report—what it recommends here and suggests there—and penetrates straight to the inner spirit of the document. This it is that has touched the heart of the Jewish and much of the Gentile world with injury—that an event of fierce violence and dreadful horror should stir no word of compassion for innocent victims nor any confession of wrath that such things can be upon this earth. Similar thoughts are prompted by the statement of Premier MacDonald to the House of Commons in support of the Inquiry Commission. Mr. MacDonald could not in decency have said less; he might well, in justice and generosity, have said much more. Yet we are told that Jewish opinion in Jerusalem was cheered by the Prime Minister's remarks! Why, we cannot imagine, unless it be that Mr. MacDonald pledged his government and England itself to the Balfour Declaration. But this we knew before. The Declaration cannot be repudiated. But how will it be supported—with full adherence to the ideal of Zionism, or with evasions and compromises dictated by the Arabs? Here is a case where not words count but deeds. Personally we see neither in the Shaw Report nor in the Prime Minister's statement any improvement, or promise of improvement, in the dreadful situation which has prevailed since the riots of last August.

Is there any more disreputable gang of politicians in the country than the Republican machine in Pennsylvania? This high-tariff industrial state has always been the breeding ground of political vermin, but we doubt if ever in the days of Penrose, or of Quay, or even of Simon Cameron, there flourished such a pestilential brood of brigands as infest the place today. Mr. Mellon is gentle and we have no doubt personally unoffending, but Pennsylvania is his fief, and, like a baron of the Middle Ages, he sits in his industrial castle and sends forth his henchmen to do his work. And what a gang they are! The mayors of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, for example! Vare, the vote-buyer! Grundy, the lobbyist! Compared to men of this stripe, Senator David A. Reed seems to be something like a genuine statesman, Secretary of Labor Davis something more and better than a blatant demagogue, and Gifford Pinchot a veritable angel of light. This last man, with his splendid heritage of the best of the Roosevelt days and his own fine record of public achievement, gives one hope that Pennsylvania is not utterly and forever one of "the lost provinces." But with nothing in sight but a senatorial primary contest between Davis and Grundy, the light burns dim. The truth is we see Republicanism at its own logical worst in the Keystone State. Fed on the pap of protective plunder for half a century, the party is here seen in its perfection, which means in all its inherent corruption. This is what Americanism has come to in the very shadow of the Independence Hall which sheltered the cradle of its freedom. The spectacle makes one despair of democracy, especially when one remembers that the Republican Party of Pennsylvania contains most of the brains of the state and such character as may still be left among its citizenry. For the Democratic Party, of course, is the mere off-scourings of the dominant political machine. Personally we can think of no one event which would be so heartening in these days as a political revolt in Pennsylvania. But we expect nothing of the sort. The state is still "corrupt and contented."

The American Civil Liberties Union, useful always in defense of human rights, has made a careful statistical survey of the Communist demonstrations which took place in this country on March 6th last. The survey shows that demonstrations were held in thirty-eight cities on that date. In sixteen of these cities, there was no trouble whatsoever; in the twenty-two others, there were various degrees of rioting, with 155 men and women injured, 265 arrested, and 114 other persons charged with minor offenses. New York won first prize for casualties and general disorder, with Los Angeles, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee competing for other prizes. In the cities where trouble was precipitated, the police were in all cases used to repress or disperse the forlorn groups of radicals who attempted to lift voices and banners. In the cities where trouble was avoided, the police were in all cases used to protect the radicals in their inalienable American right of protest. In Baltimore, for example, the police department forced upon the Communists a permit for a parade when the latter refused to ask for it, and, when the parade was held, furnished an escort of men, on foot and on horse, which outnumbered the protesting marchers three to one. And it has yet to be shown that Baltimore, or Portland (Oregon), or San Francisco, or any other city which allowed the "reds" to demonstrate as freely as though they had been American Legionaires, or the Sons of St. Patrick, or Knights Templars, suffered damage of any kind to their institutions, or placed the public safety in slightest jeopardy. Indeed, as regards the so-called "red peril," we would feel much safer in Baltimore today than in New York. Sanity, courage, good humor, a sense of fair play, and unfailing kindliness of spirit—these are our sure protection and defense. It is when we rely upon clubs and swords that we threaten the stability of the state.

We have always insisted in these columns that Prohibition should be one of the easiest of all laws to enforce. Our faith is based upon the fact that the 18th Amendment is directed fundamentally against a traffic, and that this traffic is in the nature of the case a traffic in bulk so huge that it cannot under any circumstances be hidden. Liquor, in order to be consumed, has to be transported in quantity from the place of manufacture to the place of sale. Barrels and boxes of enormous size and number have to be loaded on trucks, driven over trunk highways, and unloaded on populous streets. Such traffic in bulky material, all in the open, should be easy to detect and stop. As compared with the traffic in drugs, for example, the problem should be as simple as A-B-C. An illustration of what we mean has come recently out of New Jersey. A certain woman came to a small town in this state on her honeymoon. She was at once impressed by the large number of heavy trucks, driven by rough-looking men, which passed the house where she was staying, day and night. This unsophisticated visitor in an unfamiliar locality soon guessed that this was a transportation line for bootleg liquor, and she straightaway informed the authorities. With the result that the trucks were halted, and a huge smuggling conspiracy unearthed! Now what was not difficult for this untrained observer, should be easy for the agents of government. Enforcement, to our way of thinking, should be focused on traffic lines. We would not bother with raiding suspected speak-easies or night-clubs. The work of getting evidence and warrants is arduous and expensive. When we found what we thought was

a speak-easy, we would simply lie in wait for the delivery wagons to call. In streets lined with speak-easies, like certain streets in New York and Chicago, we would simply post sentinels, and stop every truck going and coming. Activity of this kind would settle the business in a month.

It is a study to ride in the New York subway, or in any other crowded public conveyance, and look at faces. And a test, too, of one's faith in democracy! Here are ugly faces, stupid faces, empty faces, dull faces, scarred faces, scared faces, dark faces, cruel faces, evil faces—and so seldom happy faces, or good faces, with the warm and radiant inner light shining out as through a window! Again and again we have found it a literally terrifying experience to examine the faces about us, and read the stories that are in them. For men make their faces. These countenances are the masks that reveal, not hide, the inner man. What we are we advertise in our eyes, our mouths, and the lines of our cheeks and brows. Maude Royden has said, with fine discernment, that no woman is to blame for not being beautiful at twenty, but that any woman is to blame for not being beautiful at fifty. True! Yet, is this the whole of the story? Are not our faces made *for* us as well as *by* us? If we had character enough, perhaps, we could successfully withstand the influences that beat upon us from the outer world. But most men register the marks of fortune, as the sands of the shore register the sweep of the sea. As we look at even the worst of these human faces, we see tragedy rather than evil, mischance rather than wickedness. These empty, stolid, stupid faces—what an heredity they reveal! And these cunning eyes, these cruel lips, these dark and lowering brows—what are they but defenses thrown up against a world which they have learned to distrust and fear? The more we look at the human countenance, the more we are moved to pity at the way society misuses people. And our faith in democracy is suddenly restored. For if the common man were only given half a chance—if he were not spawned in ignorance, and reared in fear, and beaten upon by injustice, poverty and neglect—would he not justify himself?

The Brave Turmoil

The mass of mankind stand before the bar of history to answer for two offences—worshipping the past and disregarding the future. We have abolished the Roman god Janus, with his two faces, but we retain the things he represented. For—as the two-faced god looked back to the past with one face, and forward to the future with the other, and his temple gates stood open only in time of war, but were closed in peace—part of our modern turmoil is created by our forgetting in peace time the lessons we learned in war time. Technically, our temple of Janus is closed, but if the actual clash of arms does not shake the earth, the air is vibrant with rumors of a dozen possible wars, and angels are crying their eyes out and demons laughing their heads off at the folly and stupidity of man. Here is a brave turmoil for those who are still reverent to the voice, the gesture of the god.

We are well assured that we cannot substitute Peacedom for Wardom merely by wishing and hoping, but only by working and suffering. While we are building castles in the air the walls of Jericho stand solid. We cannot float to the Land of Heart's Desire on a sea of languid dreams. Canaan is on in front, not behind. Eden is at the end, not the beginning, of man's career. The tree of knowledge is prophetic, not fabulous; it has not withered; it has scarce begun to bloom. The land flowing with milk and honey is not a fable but a prophecy which we have to make come true. Though we cannot see into the future like Janus, or decipher the scroll of futurity like the Sibyl, we have power over ourselves to do the duty of today. No wind can blow away the mist, or hand unroll the curtain, or mallet level the intervening hills, but the nature of the coming crisis may be determined by the courage with which we give ourselves to be tossed in the brave turmoil of these times. I do not believe in waiting on the Destinies. I accept the Humanist saying that the future is not on the lap of the gods but in the hands of man. I say nothing against the will of God, but I cannot know the will of God except as the best in man; and it is that discernment which makes heroes like those of the eleventh chapter of *Hebrews*. Therefore we burst into the turmoil of these times with the resolution of the mighty pioneer of Christianity: 'This one thing I do; forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark.'

Come to certain specific matters, such as *Freedom*. The battle of freedom is not yet won. Not to speak of nations still in bondage to imperial powers such as Great Britain, the battle for free printing,—that is, for the free circulation of ideas, is in full swing. We are familiar with recent suppressions of books in our own country. I read that Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* is denied publication in Italy, while Austria and Czecho-Slovakia have prohibited its admission into soldiers' libraries, and one British Colony at least (New Zealand) has banished it from the public

libraries. More than that: Fascism is threatening the life of an American publisher and the bombing of his offices if he persists in publishing a book by Signor Nitti (son of the Ex-Premier) describing Fascismo's mal-treatment of himself and other political prisoners. Not to be behind in the suppression of truth, the American Christian Scientists worked up a nation-wide boycott of another publisher and all his works, because he didn't withdraw from publication a biography of their founder and prophetess Mrs. Eddy; not because it is inaccurate, but precisely because it is too true. A sect which suppresses truth is the foe of liberty.

The battle of freedom has not ended while there are still millions of slaves in the world—even under the Union Jack—as Lady Simon has just shown in her recent book *Slavery,* in which she writes these words:

> At the present rate of emancipation our children's children will not see the task accomplished . . . it would take a thousand years to set free the whole of the slaves of the world, if present day systems were maintained, and if the civilized world remained apathetic.

But first things first. Before slavery can go, the conceited doctrine of 'superior races' must go. 'Why did God make flies' exclaims a petulant invalid in Wells's *The Undying Fire.* One answer might be: For little boys to swat! Similarly, we might hear Britain ask: Why did God make 'Niggers'?—and America: Why did God make 'Chinks'?—and Australia: Why did God make 'Japs' ?—and the united answer might truthfully be: For the Nordic or Anglo-Saxon races to exploit as long as they are too feeble to assert themselves. Here is turmoil for the brave! !

Lady Simon's reference to present-day systems points straight to the confusions in which *economic* freedom is lost to sight. Do we sufficiently consider the fact that there are probably a hundred million people in the world who every day are near or over the border line of starvation? I suppose Great Britain and America are the two richest countries in the world; yet the first has a million and a half of unemployed on her books, and the second (augmented no doubt by recent financial panics) has probably several millions; and all these workless people are by law forbidden to grow food for themselves by free access to land. Could anything more scandalously display the defects of organized civilization than the practice of denying access to land, the source of all food and wealth, and thereby denying opportunity and subsistence to the disinherited millions?

The time has gone by when religion could ignore the question of economic freedom. If religion is devotion to the Ideal, religion's task is to lift human existence up toward that Ideal. The other day I saw a tailor's advertisement of his goods as 'Art applied to men's fits.' What is religion but the art of righteousness applied to the collective mis-fits of economics, finance, industry, capital, labour, land, liquor, and the eternal colour-question?

Though religion is not militaristic it is combative. There is a tradition of an English prize-fighter who had 'found religion' and turned missionary. An orator at a street corner was described to him as an atheist. 'Atheist? Wot's an atheist?' said he. On being told he exclaimed: 'Don't believe in no God, don't 'e? 'Ere, 'old my coat'! The pugilistic Bendigo was not a whit lower on the moral plane than was Joshua who in the name of Jahweh attempted to exterminate the unbelieving Philistines, or Peter the Hermit and Richard the First who went out to massacre monotheistic Muslims, or the commercial Christians of today who pursue the exploitation of weaker races on the plea of Christianizing them. Modern religion has to find and follow William James's 'Moral Equivalent of War' or, as less ambiguous, let us say 'The Moral *Substitute* for War', or still more plainly 'The Moral *Opposite* of War.' We are poised like rope-dancers between peace and war. We repudiate Napoleonic methods while emulating the Napoleonic spirit. When the conqueror talked of invading Italy, they reminded him of the Alps. 'Alps', cried he, 'there shall be no Alps'! And lo! there were as good as none; for he made roads and built galleries till Rome seemed as accessible as Paris. A good moral for religious reformers:—The way to the Republic of God is *over,* not *round,* the hill. And, as my countrymen say, we must 'put a stout heart to a stey brae.'

I am a stubborn believer in human invincibility. Though crime waves are washing over city and country alike I refuse to regard man as a criminal by nature. The saint and the saviour are also implicit in him. The heroic breed has never died out. There is an ecclesiastical doctrine of apostolical succession in which I entirely disbelieve, only the more strongly to believe in a natural succession of apostolic men and women. By the laying on of episcopal hands we may secure a corporation of priests or a caste of professional churchmen, but never a race of pioneers. No bishop's hands created the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, or the noble army of martyrs. Not thus was recruited that glorious army, men and boys, the matron and the maid of Christian song who changed a world by changing its religion. The spirit bloweth where it listeth, not necessarily through Gothic aisles. The heroes of faith came in accordance with that mysterious transaction whereby mortals aspire toward the Eternal while the Eternal reciprocally dwells in them. The Fourth Gospel gives the true derivation: As many as received God, to them he gave power to become the sons of God; who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The heroic mind cannot be entailed or bequeathed like lands, houses, or treasury bonds. The divine afflatus is not bound to priestly orders, or secreted with groups of initiates. No pope can confer it on bishop, no bishop on priest, no priest

on people. It may be felt most powerfully in the brave turmoil of the times.

Once upon a time two English scholars might have been seen wandering round a London square by night, too poor to raise the price of a bed. 'Yet', said one of them, 'we were brimful of patriotism, and resolved to stand by our country.' One of the poor patriots was Samuel Johnson, who tells the story. In the Johnsonian manner we can resolve to stand,—not by our country if it is wrong, but,—by our cause, to stand by truth, to stand by justice, to stand by the poor, to stand by the oppressed, to stand by Egypt, to stand by India, to stand by the African negro, and to stand by one another in the best of all causes, the cause of Humanity. Great was that saying of Goldwin Smith's: 'Above all nations is Humanity.' Greater is that God who is within us than all who can be against us. Like that of the old Sea Kings be our valour,—the cowards down to Hela the death-goddess, but the brave to Odin's Hall!

I was greatly impressed the other week by reading the dying message of Leonid Krassin, who, you may recall, for sometime represented Russian affairs in England. On his death-bed he said:

There is one supreme lesson—one thing that stands out from my life's experiences; we all have still to learn to love our fellow-creatures. Throughout my alloted span I have sought to break open those sealed boxes in which, so it seems to me, humanity is imprisoned—those boxes of hatred, suspicion and ignorance—in which the nations and the social groups are enclosed, and which are the cause of conflicts without end. I have tried—perhaps without success, but the effort, the struggle, must go on. That is my message to posterity.

I follow the Bolshevik in placing the hope of human salvation in a changed mentality. While great-hearted leaders will be necessary, they can succeed only by moulding the popular mind to great ideals. If politicians could mould the mind of the nations to war, Internationalists may surely mould them to peace. Wars grow out of ill thoughts: Peace will grow out of good thoughts. The Treaty of Versailles grew out of an ill thought: The League of Nations grew out of a good thought; and the good is prevailing over the ill.

Here is where religion comes in either with saving or with damning effect. As I see it, religion's supreme task is to create a new God to replace Jahweh the race-god, Mammon the money-god, Mars the war-god, and the Blood-god of theology for whom I have no name. Of all gods the last is the most ghastly. As long as the world is supposed to be governed by a deity who needs to be appeased by blood—the blood of his own son if he can get no other—a deity who refuses to forgive a penitent unless his doctrines are correct, who consigns innumerable multitudes to a hell of endless sin and misery, so long will mankind remain unforgiving and bloody minded like the being they worship. The nations must be converted to a God of universal love without respect to race, creed, or moral difference.

As a means to that end the sectarian Bibles must be torn up; or rather, lest I be misunderstood, let me say the sectarianism of the Bibles must be rubbed out. The historic scriptures have been perverted to mean and narrow ends, dividing the races whom they ought to have united. While churches, synagogues and temples have cherished divisive notions of chosen peoples and special revelations, a religion of humanity will proclaim the reconciling truth that the mind and will of the Eternal is made known in the reason and moral sense of all men and races, and in the best portions of the books they have evolved. In the brave turmoil of the religions the light of science and scholarship is being let in upon the Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan, Hindu, and other Bibles, establishing their human origin, disintegrating traditions and dogmas, bringing to light common teachings and a common spirit, thereby encouraging mutual appreciation and fellowship. The Time-spirit—Whitman's 'holy ghost'—is fast disintegrating Babylon's half-brute and half-human idols, India's misleading effigies of the divine, Africa's rude fetishes, Italy's carven crosses and idolatrous images, Germany's hard Lutheran doctrines, France's materialised secularity, Great Britain's and America's mythical Christolatry, and is manifesting itself as thought of their thought, will of their will, by whom the faiths and races are brought to unity and peace:

'The people's prayer, the glad diviner's theme,
The young men's visions and the old men's dream.'

From the brave turmoil of the creeds will finally emerge the faith common to all mankind, which is neither less nor more than to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with the Eternal. Universal faith is the essence of all forms of religion, and universal love is the essence of human nature in all parts of the earth. On these two pillars will stand the future Temple of Humanity.

WALTER WALSH.

Jottings

We passed a church-door just before Easter, and read with some astonishment the following sign:

Three Hours Agony
In This Church
Good Friday, 12-3
Rev. Edward G. Higgins, Preacher

Not all preachers are as honest as this!

We infer from the newspaper stories that Mrs. McCormick won the Republican senatorial nomination in Illinois *in spite of the fact* that she is against the World Court, *in spite of the fact* that she is a "dry," *in spite of the fact* that she is a woman. Well, well! It seems to pay in politics to have a fine assortment of "in-spite-ofs" on one's side.

Last year in France the population *decreased* more than 12,000. There were fewer marriages, fewer births, more divorces, and more deaths than ever before. Here is the solution of international naval conferences! Let the conference remain in session long enough, and France will have disappeared. Then disarmament can proceed!

Under the laws of Soviet Russia, children are obliged to support their parents. But if their parents are priests or rabbis, the children are relieved of such obligation. Another case, we take it, of "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children!"

Once again Mr. Coolidge tells us that he does not choose to return to public life. We wonder how many more times he will have to say this before he will be believed. Curious, how the public undertakes to honor a man by regarding him as a deliberate deceiver!

With the opening of the baseball season, life really becomes serious again. Before the might of "Babe" Ruth's bat and "Lefty" Groves's arm, such matters as the Indian revolution, the future of Russia, the peace of Europe, and Prohibition retire where they belong—to the limbo of unimportant things.

J. H. H.

Parables of War and Peace

IV

The House Beautiful

And as the angel led me through the streets of the city of the world, he showed to me a House among many houses. And the House was very fair.

Its walls of marble loomed as some snow-sloped mountain, blazing in the sun. Its windows shone with an unearthly glory, as though the radiance of the million stars of night were shining through. On pinnacle and roof streamed banners brave with color, like the light of dawn. And over all, as fragrance in a garden, was music of horn and trumpet, of cymbal and rolling drum.

And I said unto the angel, This House is wondrous fair.

And the angel smiled, as I have seen a mother smile upon some foolish child, but nothing said.

Then I continued, Surely, if this House is so very fair without, it must be fairer still within. I will enter, if thou will guide me, and see what beauty may be hid behind its walls.

And the angel smiled again, a sad and wistful smile, and led me to the threshold of the House.

And as I paused ere I should enter, I saw the portal slowly open from within.

And as it swung, the walls grew dull and cold, the banners drooped as in the dying winds of night, and all the music softened and was still.

And I saw a man come from the House, horrid with dirt and wounds. And I saw his blood stream down upon the marble porch, and mark the way he went.

And as he passed, I saw the door swing closed; and all the walls with splendor shone, and trumpets sang again.

And I said unto the angel, Who is this wretched man? Why comes he from the gateway beautiful?

And the angel smiled, as one in pain, but nothing said.

And I approached the portal of the House, to open it. And again I saw it move, as breathed upon by breezes of the sea.

And as it swung, the walls grew black, the banners fell, the music of the trumpets was no more.

And there came from out the door, a woman, wringing her two hands, and wailing as a stricken beast at bay. Her hair was torn, her shoulders stripped and bare, and all her footsteps marked by dripping blood.

And the woman came, and passed, and disappeared. And the door was closed again. And light shone round about me as before, and golden music smote upon my ears.

And I cried unto the angel, Tell me of this woman! Who is she, and what does she in this House?

And the angel smiled the awful smile of death, and nothing said.

And I approached the portal of the House, to swing it wide, and enter. And the door was open flung, as by the blow of some great hand within.

And sudden darkness fell upon the place, like the silence of the dead.

Only I heard the whimper of a little child, and then a long, long scream of terror, and then a sob of agony and fear.

And I looked, and saw upon the angel's face a light as terrible as dawn. And I would have fallen down before him had he not seized my hand, and led me past the threshold of the House.

And I looked again, and saw upon the angel's face a light as terrible as day. And I hid my eyes, and followed as one blind through corridors and rooms, and over climbing stairs.

At last we stopped; and at the angel's word, I bared my eyes, and looked.

And I saw fire, and smoke, and bodies wet with blood. And in the midst I saw a throne, and by the throne, a living pillar as it were of cloud and flame.

And I looked upon the pillar. And I saw as it were a hand upon the right, gripping a bleeding sword; and I saw as it were a hand upon the left, lifting a flaring torch.

And I looked yet again upon the pillar. And I saw as it were a figure tall as night, with gleaming bones half hidden in the shrouded smoke; and over all a massive, grinning skull, white as the ocean foam, and empty as some shell upon the shore.

And horror seized upon my flesh. And I fell as one sore stricken unto death.

And I cried unto the angel, What is this House?

And the angel answered me, as thunder rolling over distant seas, *This House is War.*

And again the angel seized upon my hand. Again I hid my eyes, and followed as one blind, down falling stairs, through rooms and corridors, unto the threshold of the House.

And we passed the threshold; and the door swung closed behind us.

And I looked. And behold, the walls of that House loomed as some snow-sloped mountain, blazing in the sun. Its windows shone with an unearthly glory, as though the radiance of the million stars of night were shining through. From pinnacle and roof streamed banners brave with color, like the light of dawn. And over all, as fragrance in a garden, was music of horn and trumpet, of cymbal and rolling drum.

And I saw the people stand before the House, and clap their hands in rapture, and laugh as little children at a play.

And I said unto the angel, Do they not know what is this House?

And the angel wept, but nothing said to me.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Crux of the Humanist Matter

Fifty years ago good men were talking about infant baptism, miracles, and second probation. Their grandchildren today look with amused indifference on such matters and many of our sophisticated college youth are asking: Is there a personal God? What assurance have we of immortality? Has not science upset the old assumptions and are we sure of anything but that it is best to be kind and helpful and when we go out into the dark unknown leave the world a little better because we have lived? Not only our sophisticated youth are assuming that the doctrines of the fathers are superstitions, belonging to an unscientific age, but mature men and women with a heart sinking in a new sense of loneliness in a world that has seen a Heavenly Father vanish into nothingness, have come to this conviction that nothing is certain. Fewer people seem to be going to church; Sunday has lost all sacredness. Yet next to fiction, religious books are having the widest circulation. Man is eternally interested in the search for God, though the church and rational religion may seem to some to have lost all relationship.

A leader of the Layman's League of the Unitarian church says: "I believe in God, but the god which I believe in is not the creator of a physical universe. He is not concerned in the affairs of the individual. I believe in the immortality of noble living. I believe in a spiritual God." He will not "deny the possibility of human immortality." A trustee of the University Unitarian Church at Seattle says: "The church must teach men to live in accordance with natural laws; in this teaching there is no need of going beyond what we can understand." Said a leader in the Ethical Culture Society in New York: "The new scientific attitude marks one of the profoundest changes that has happened in history; man again finds himself at the center and now as creative. Not God the Creator, but man." He finds in man's new revelation of "the untapped potentialities of finer life" what stirs him most and helps the perception of that infinite life "that essence which creates values, that creates the things which make life worth while, that makes it sacred." These are samples of hundreds of such utterances from such serious men which might be cited.

Among these men whose noble lives win respect and some times put Christian believers to shame, whose words I quote from current journals, akin to those of Lippmann and other humanists, there is today surely apparent a need for clearer philosophic insight. The average Christian, unless he can approach them, in a new way is helpless to influence talk of them; his personal spiritual experience and texts from Scripture will avail naught. It is high time that all who deplore the despair, and scepticism of today should learn new methods of approach. This is an age of astounding developments in finance, industry and the practical aspects of science; but science in its theoretic aspects is changing so startlingly that one is amused at the naive reliance on its present pronouncements on the part of those who deride the uncertainties in the world of theologic thought. No book in chemistry or physics that is twenty, or perhaps ten years old, is an authority today. Einstein and his great contemporary explorers into the mystery of electrons, and the newly discovered immensities of creation in the heavenly bodies have shaken the old foundations of science. Spiritual truths as old as Plato and Jesus which deal with quality, not quantity, can not be set aside by any startling new revelations of the imaginable immensities in the material universe which so impress men like Professor Barnes, or in new revelations beyond microscopic test, in a world that is rapidly overturning theories of force and matter.

In his notable article on "Religion without God?" in the December number of Harper's magazine, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, in a keen analysis of the new Humanism says, "It is not in the old sense materialistic—but humanists start with a universe basically non-psychical, non-personal, non-spiritual." Dr. Fosdick accepts in high measure the exposé of the crudities of the old orthodoxy and recognizes the courage with which the humanist faces the problems of a world in which personality, as the humanist holds, has evolved and will ultimately perish. Dr. Fosdick quotes "one of our foremost scientists" as saying, "The most tragic event in the history of the universe is that man should ever have become conscious of himself," a foolish word which seems as whimsical to most scientific men as it does to the common reader. Says Dr. Fosdick, "Ultimately an ethic of high ideals . . . depends on reverence for personality. There is the crux of the whole matter." Commenting on the theories of the humanist which reduce personality to its organism, and this organism to its component physical parts, "behind which is a world of energy units, working in mechanistic patterns," he shows how this process has explained nothing but has simply analyzed something.

What then is personality, the crux of the whole matter? What is the prime distinction between the quadruped and man? It is not in their physical differences. It is that man is able to say, "I am I"; to look on himself as object while he, as subject, con-

trols this object—self. He sees himself as X. Y. Z., having so many children, being a Methodist, a Republican, a shoemaker, as distinguished from all his colleagues in one way or another. He is a self-conscious entity as no brute so far has ever shown himself to be. Should there be a stirring of incipient personality in the brute it would manifest itself in that greatest of all inventions—language, whether signs or speech. Said Aristotle, "Man is a symbol-making animal." He makes symbols for ideas and so communicates with millions, resurrects and conserves past history, creates universals and magnifies his potentialities indefinitely. The brute has no language and expresses himself by involuntary, and inherited sounds, reflecting his emotions.

A little girl on her second birthday said, "Me" as she showed a photograph of herself, and then looking for the first time at a picture of the Sistine Madonna, she said, "Mamma and cunning baby." No other order of being however mature, could have done that. That is a vastly more impressive and stupendous fact than any Natural History Museum with dinosaur's eggs and all, or than Betelguese and all the thousand fiery suns of the Milky Way. Time and space are forms of thought. Mind, not matter, creates. Infinite mind alone can project itself and body itself forth in all degrees of matter and in finite mind. How explain otherwise "the creation of a physical universe?" What does "a spiritual God" mean that is devoid of creative power? What does a sane man mean by "Not God the creator, but man?" Man, indeed, can build a Chrysler building, but who made the stone and metal of which it is composed? Who made the Pleiades and Orion? Do humanists think things made themselves? that the lower create the higher form of being?

Hegel, in his profound analysis of the nature of infinite Personality—the "Primal Cause," "The Eternal," the Creator, God—has shown that self-conscious Being is "Subject-Object." That is, as "Subject-Object"—thought, spirit, will, it objectifies or expresses itself in every form, visible and invisible, self-conscious and unself-conscious, in the universe. This Subject-Object is immanent, omnipresent; it notes the sparrow's fall; it pulses the blood through the veins, the sap through the tree. The universe is, so to speak, the body of God. In the Subject's highest manifestation of personality we have Jesus who revealed the spirit of universal love, the essence of the Divine. Were not the Supreme Personality beneficent, it would imply that Jesus was higher than his Creator. That would be unthinkable.

Finite mind can never imagine the infinite; Imagination is only possible of things which have limits; but finite mind can perceive the essence of the infinite and feel itself at one with it, as the drop of salt water is of the essence of the seven seas. The soul, lonely and forlorn in a world from which the belief in a Heavenly Father has been replaced by a grim belief in blind force in an incomprehensible universe, may find its way back to spiritual insight through the study of what is involved in the self-consciousness of finite and infinite personality; he may regain hope and comfort and build duty, love and reverence on the solid rock of a sound philosophy.

The church is largely to blame for the failure to reach or to prevent the growing sceptism of today by its repetition of old phrases for ideas which need modern statement, just as modern science does, if they are to affect minds bewildered by chaotic ideas about personality. A large number in a college class recently denied that they believed in a personal God. When asked if they believed in the Life and Soul of the universe, they said, "Yes."

Half the trouble is lack of clear definition. Superannuated and damaged definitions will not do. Would you ask the inquiring youth to believe in God and immortality, then do not quote Seventeenth Century theologians, or some last century Sunday School superintendent. They will be more willing to hear about a Primal Cause than about Jehovah. Talk to young people in the terms which they respect, and not in pious sentimentalities of which they are suspicious. They may often be sophomoric and often dogmatic in the enjoyment of their little dialectics and their pride in having found out that the universe is simply a machine. Tell them to read a Christian like Emerson whom they respect. Remind them that Emerson said, "The Author of Nature has not left himself without a witness in any sane mind." "Frightful is the solitude of the soul without God." "Conscious law is king of kings"—by which he meant that the law of the universe is the personal Law Giver of the universe. "When you pronounce the name of man," he said, "you pronounce the belief in immortality." "The impossibility of any other solution is the blazing evidence of immortality."

Do not ask the sceptic to believe these things because Emerson said them, as that is the last thing that Emerson would desire. But ask him to ponder on these clearest and deepest convictions of Emerson. Ask him to read the two little books, "The Destiny of Man" and "The Idea of God," by John Fiske, the greatest American representative of Darwinism while Darwin lived, and ask him what fault he has to find with the doctrines of God and immortality as defined by this great, scientific thinker.

The young inquirer, if earnest and not flippant and conceited, should never be treated as if there were not in the world deep mysteries which we can solve as the days go on only little by little by earnest thought through earnest lives; but do not, in these great matters of thought upon which our conduct and our lives depend, let him lose himself in foolish mazes of words, or trifle with careless disputations.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Humanism With and Without God

Humanism without God is a bird with only one wing; it is confined to walking on the earth. Humanism with God is a bird with two wings; it can walk on the earth as well as the other, and it also can soar into the heavens and sing.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

Kagawa of Japan

Out of Asia come the prophets, and Kagawa of Japan is not the least of them. In the very nature of things Gandhi's star must decline since he has entered the afternoon of life, but Kagawa is only approaching the zenith of his fame. Unless all signs fail this dynamic little Japanese will occupy a large place in the world news of the next ten years.

Born in 1888 of an aristocratic Japanese family he has so identified himself with the masses of the island empire that his name has become a synonym of social and industrial progress in his native land. There his name is attached to many things, as: Kagawa labor union, Kagawa suits, Kagawa cloth, Kagawa reforms, Kagawa Christians.

He has been called the "Gandhi" of Japan, a misnomer, for there can be but one Gandhi in all the world; likewise there can be but one Kagawa. We might compare them. Gandhi is an Indian; Kagawa is a Japanese. Gandhi professes Hinduism; Kagawa is a Christian. Gandhi calls on his followers to boycott modern machinery and machine-made products; Kagawa accepts modern machinery and inventions and adapts them to his program. Gandhi is a lawyer; Kagawa is a minister. Gandhi is suspicious of Christianity and of those who profess it; Kagawa sees in Christianity the hope of Asia. Gandhi renounces family, Kagawa glories in his wife and children.

They have much in common. Both are little men in physique; both are Orientals; both have lived in the Occident and have had personal contact with Western civilization; both have a profound interest in the welfare of their country; both love humanity.

The facts of Kagawa's life are pertinent to an understanding of his character. Born a Buddhist, he studied the classics of Confucius, delved in the mysteries of Shintoism, heard the preaching of a Christian missionary and became converted to Christianity, but any orthodoxy in his adopted faith has been softened by the influence of Emerson. Entering college his health failed and he went to live a year in a fishing village and thus became acquainted with the life of the toilers of the sea and sympathetic with these people whose existence is made up of hardship and poverty.

He returned to college and began to work as a Sunday school teacher with an "almost embarrassing enthusiasm." At the age of twenty-two he entered the slum district of the great industrial city of Kobe and began his real career. In Kobe he found eleven thousand people living in seven city blocks. He found some of these people so poor that they were glad to live on the offal from the fish markets and the waste from the stalls of the vegetable sellers. He made the problems of these people his problems, and wrestling with the economic and social questions of the Japanese workers he acknowledged his inability to find a solution and turned his face to America which to the Japanese mind is the land of golden opportunity. He came to Princeton and studied, and in due time was graduated from the theological seminary. He did not find all that he expected to find in America. In some respects he was bitterly disappointed, but he did find Emerson, the soul-lifter; Lincoln, the emancipator, and became better acquainted with Karl Marx, the prophet of the masses, and Jesus of Nazareth, the workingman preacher.

He returned to Japan and celebrated his return by going immediately from the ship that brought him home to the slums of a great city. There he has lived. There he has married. There he is raising a family. There he is gaining a world-wide recognition because of his courage, his energy, his intelligence, his superb leadership and his unquenchable faith in humanity.

To enumerate his achievements would make an article in itself. He is a living dynamo of energy. First, he practices the simple life, eating sparingly of the plainest food, never owning more than one suit, living with his wife and children in a two-room tenement, and working prodigiously with hand, tongue and brain. Next he is a preacher, not merely once a week but every day, and usually many times every day. Again, he is a writer, with forty-five books to his credit and others coming out every few months, to say nothing of hundreds of short articles and pamphlets. He is a novelist who writes "best sellers," his first novel passing through one hundred and eighty editions. He is a poet in a land of poets. One of his stories "Before the Dawn," has been in part translated into English and while it may not appeal to the American critic as great literature, we at least have the feeling that here is a man who is laying bare the life of a people. He is a doer as well as a preacher. He found sickness and disease in these slums and he opened a free clinic for those who are afflicted physically, and one of the prices that he has paid for his humanitarianism is the partial loss of his eyesight from tracoma contracted while ministering to others. He is sympathetic with Marxian sociology, but he sees no hope for labor in ignorance, so part of his program is education for the masses. As his part he conducts classes for the working boys. Beginning before they go to the toil of the day in the factory, he starts teaching at five o'clock in the morning, spending two hours on arithmetic and algebra, and again he has a class from seven to eight in the evening. He is teaching dietetics to the children of the slums. He organizes labor unions, and his cooperative society is a world famous institution. It turns out three piece suits for workingmen at a price of $1.50 American money, and "Kagawa suits" are becoming famous in Japan. Recently he has become the head of the Social Bureau of the city of Tokio. He is also a supporter of a leper colony.

His career has not been all triumphs by any means, and like all prophets he has found a thorny way. About the first big movement in the labor world with which he was identified was when the Kobe dockyard workers went on a strike, and also on a rampage. Practically leaderless but driven to desperation the workers struck and broke loose, burning and destroying property and threatening violence. Then it was that this young preacher took a hand. First, he deliberately opposed their violent methods and began to preach the non-violent doctrines of Jesus, and as soon as some of the cooler heads began to listen he took charge of the strike. His reward was a term in jail as soon as the government got control. From that time on he was a marked man and for several years he was under constant surveillance by the authorities, and it is interesting to note that he has so impressed the imperial government that though he has not

changed his views at all his works are now being printed and distributed at government expense, and the Japanese parliament has appropriated ten million dollars to try out his plan for slum reclamation. When the disastrous earthquake occurred in 1923 it was this man that the authorities summoned as advisor in handling the situation.

He believes that the great battle for progress finds its worst foe in ignorance, and he has set face against illiteracy and mental lethargy. He is a living example for those whom he is trying to reach. As a scholar he is profound. He knows the Western learning with its philosophy, its science, its history, its new psychology and its complex sociology, and at the same time he is a Wise Man of the East. His remedy for all the social and economic ills of the world is love. Loving his fellow men is his religion and his philosophy, and in his person we see the rare combination of practical business shrewdness and the idealistic dreamer.

With him in all his enterprises there is a little woman, heart of his heart, soul of his soul. Typically Japanese and wholly in sympathy with her husband's aims, she is a loyal coworker sharing his poverty, working in the factory that she may become acquainted with the girl workers whom she has organized into a society known as "The Awakened Women," she also is working, writing and waiting for the emancipation of her sex from their age-long position of inferiority in the "unchanging East."

One day the world will awaken to the fact that among the greatest of her sons is Toyokiko Kagawa of Japan.

GEORGE LINNAEUS THOMPSON.

Two Sides of a Peace Problem

[From our Special Correspondent in Bulgaria]

Undoubtedly the United States, independent as it is of complications in the world's politics, is free to preach and attempt to apply theories and principles which no other country is in a state to advance, still less to invite others to accept. Distrust, suspicion among the nations of the Old World are an obstacle to such action. Thus we see the United States working and striving for the outlawry of war, for the carrying out of a pact (Kellogg's) for the establishment of world peace. Is not such work undertaken solely in the knowledge of conditions prevailing solely in the United States? Does not success in such a work depend on conditions prevailing in the Old World? The labor conditions have to be considered, for upon them only can one build the laudable plan for the attainment of the world's peace. These conditions must be brought up to the level of those in the United States before such plan can progress.

Recently I read the following in a select American magazine: "Of all lands our own is one that resembles most the world-state of the future. Here are representatives of many nationalities brought together into a single community. . . . Here, as nowhere, in the world, unity finds expression . . ."

Now, I presume it is upon such an understanding, such a unity of nationalities, that the leaders in the United States, in the work in question, build their plans and found their hopes. Is this not like trying to cultivate an exotic tropical plant in the Arctic regions? The conditions prevailing in the United States, as regards nationalities, can never prevail in the Old World, although the nationalities in the United States are identical with those in the Old World.

Noble are the desires and hopes of the leaders in the United States in the great work undertaken by them, but the road to success is crowded with obstacles which, as they present themselves today, are unsurmountable. These difficulties manifest themselves in the vast difference between the conditions in which the various nationalities live and develop in the United States, and those in which they live and develop in the Old World. This difference must first be removed before any chance of success in the object pursued by American leaders in this gigantic work.

Living conditions and the popular state of mind in the United States cannot be compared with those of the Old World when it is a question of world politics. What men have attained in the United States is unattainable in the Old World. The mental attitude of the people of the United States and that of the nations of the Old World are at complete variance. The latter must evolve up to the standard of the former before it can be possible for both to work in unison for the attainment of world peace.

The vast majority of the inhabitants of the United States went there determined to break off with all biases and traditions inherited in the Old World, and to adopt whatever they found. They came to America with one principal ambition—to grow and prosper in line with the people of the country, to assimilate with them in customs, manners and national ideals. An American, even after a residence of some years in my country, failed to understand why so many nationalities in the Balkan Peninsula could not settle their differences, as did a far greater number of nationalities on American soil. Americans who judge of the political relations between the nations of the Old World from the facility with which the emigrants of these nations settle down in the United States, forgetting the differences they had left behind them in their old countries, are not prepared to understand the force of these differences in the Old World.

The Old World's inheritance from wars,—conquest and defeats, connected with the disappearance of old peoples and the rise of new, the extension and the curtailment of frontiers, the clash of languages and religions, unscrupulous ambitions to rival one's neighbor, the strife of one nation to domineer over another,—all this is a blank book to the average American. There are no subject peoples in the United States. No language or religion is persecuted there for the benefit of another.

Now this condition of mental hostility in the Old

World is more dreadful today than ever before. The struggle is more acute because the spirit of nationality is at present greater, far beyond what it has been. There are today from thirty to forty millions of human souls who are forcibly subjected to domineering alien rule. These thirty to forty millions of human beings, bartered away by the Peace Treaties, are bent upon regaining their freedom. Their nationals who chance to be enjoying independence will seize every opportunity to forward the claims of their brethren. This brings us face to face with a critically dangerous situation. The very different conditions, in this respect, in the United States, are an impossibility in the Old World. Every evil has its root. Only the prejudiced, the wilfully blind, will fail to see that the root of this evil in Europe is the disastrous conditions prevailing today in the Old World consecrated by the Peace Treaties which, while solving some outstanding problems, created others far worse. The present situation, full of injustice which breeds discontent and misery, is one fraught with the menace of future wars. No world unity can have any chance of success unless the basis of peace so loudly proclaimed by President Wilson, so cruelly trampled under foot in Paris by the peace makers, are sincerely recognized and applied. This is the only practical remedy if peace is to be established.

P. M. MATTHEEFF.

Sofia, Bulgaria.

Trumpets on New Horizons

I Hear a Brown Girl Singing

Brown girl,
With your slender throat
That sings to me
Of all the sorrows of your race,
Hear my song.

I have seen your sorrow,
I have known your heartbreak,
I have felt your desolation,
I, too, have been an alien
In my native land.

And I say to you sing.
Even as your song reached me
And made me kindred to you,
So shall it touch mankind
And fear, and hate, and prejudice
Shall vanish with your song.

Brown girl,
With your slender throat
Sing softly on.

HELEN LENHART YOKE

To Theseus

Theseus, the joke is on you,
  Thinking you slew the prize bad bull
In Crete's daedalian labyrinth.
  Your eyes were wound with wool.

What would the major-generals say
  To embarking only fourteen youth
For tribute to a myth, in mask
  Of democracy and truth?

A million times fourteen would make
  A rather meagre meal for war!—
Theseus, you know you never slew
  The one blue-ribbon Minotaur!

EARL BIGELOW BROWN

In Tents

Through the starry night, Gautama went
And stopped at the door of Jesus' tent.
"Come in, my brother," Lord Jesus cried
As he ran to welcome the one outside;
And they drank the cup of communion, sweet,
When Jesus had washed Lord Buddha's feet,—
  For the light of Asia
    Illumed the tent,
  And Jesus was sorry
    When Buddha went.

Lord Jesus walked, ere the day was done,
To visit Mahomet, the youngest "Son."
The Holy Prophet his coffee sips,
But the words that flow from Jesus' lips
He eagerly drinks; and there are tears
As together they talk of the dim, dark years
When each held a torch for the sons of men.
The silence of memory falls; and then
  They part,—for the sun
    Is low in the west,—
  With a comrade's tribute:
    "You gave your best."

On the tented plains, they often meet
And cheer each other with converse, sweet,—
Mahomet the Prophet and Jesus the Jew;
Lao-tse and Buddha; The Blessed One, too.
They love each other, these Savants of old,
And, passing sweet is the converse they hold,
And rare communion, as nomads, all,
They rest together at evening's fall
  Till the flowing silence
    Laps their souls
  And only the Ocean
    Of Tao rolls.

EVA WARNER

East and West

(An Anti-Preparedness Fable)

He was an ancient man
from that Land of Liberty called The
and had come forth to look upon the world
he had been telling about.

Now I have seen many things in many lands,
said he to the captain of the ship,
in and on varied weathers and waters,
but not until now have my eyes beheld
so strange a sight.
Tell me how it is
that you dangle a hundred crates of swine
from deck to shore
where blades wait
grey and thin
to gorge red,
while never a squeal of protest comes
from any doomed throat
and all that mass of muscle
is calm as lilies on an altar.

And the Oriental captain, word-niggardly:
Opium in pigs' breakfast!

I myself,
murmured the Ancient, nodding,
I'm a newspaper man.

GRANVILLE TRACE

The Study Table

Reviews by Curtis W. Reese

Plays and Pageants for the Church School*

With the increasing importance that is being attached to dramatics and pageantry in connection with religious education, there is felt the need for simple and impressive plays suitable for Sunday Schools, young people's societies, and similar organizations. This collection of Plays and Pageants selected and edited by Miss Marie W. Johnson is a contribution toward meeting this need.

Many churches are finding in dramatics and pageantry effective ways to stimulate interest in ethical idealism. A Sunday School in Chicago featured the signing of the Peace Pact as a Christmas program. This was an improvement over typical ecclesiastical Christmas celebrations. For the wise men of today who actually organize the world for peace are more significant for us in this age than are the wise men who followed the stars in the days of long ago.

A legitimate criticism of Miss Johnson's collection is that it does not contain more material of a modern social nature. And it is almost totally lacking in material that could be used by humanistic groups.

*Published by the Beacon Press, Boston, Mass.

Uncle Sham*

Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" is now matched by "Uncle Sham." It may be doubted whether such volumes really serve any useful purpose, but given "Mother India" it was quite natural that some citizen of that country should reply in like fashion.

The author of "Uncle Sham," after the fashion of Katherine Mayo, picks out many of the worst features of modern American life and portrays them as general tendencies in this land of the free. What the author insists on is that there is a shocking difference between profession and practice in American life. He states that what he reports is based either on his own observations in the United States or on American utterances.

He has drawn freely from the Literary Digest, Current History, Mencken's "Americana," Edith Hooker's "Laws of Sex," the report of the Chicago Committee on Inter-Racial Relations, Woolaston's "Prostitution in the United States," the MacFadden publications, Judge Lindsay's books, and Graham's "New York Nights."

One might well doubt the adequacy of a portrait of American life based on these sources. Nevertheless it is true, as the author suggests, that we do not live up to the fundamental doctrines of democracy, viz. (1) equality among all citizens, (2) the sovereignty of the people, and (3) the protection of the people against usurpation or misuse of authority of their officers. As Americans we can hardly be offended when foreigners remind us of boss rule, the K. K. K., our treatment of the Negro and other minority races.

"Uncle Sham" can hardly be recommended for inspirational reading but it is a good work to recommend to one-hundred-percenters.

*Uncle Sham. By Kanhaya Lal Gauba. Published by The Times Publishing Company, Lahore, India.

Correspondence

The Explanation of Unemployment

Editor of UNITY: On page 100 of the issue of April 14th, you raise the question "Is unemployment one of the insoluble mysteries?" and refer to the fact that all nations are at present thus afflicted.

The writer's processes of reasoning are faulty, as they must be from effects so negligible. I have always ascribed unemployment to conditions so scathingly described by John Maynard Keynes in "The Economic Consequences of The Peace" as pertaining to the economic teachings of the schools and existing economic conditions. Mr. Keynes writes:

"This remarkable system depended for its growth on a double bluff or deception. On the one hand the laboring classes accepted from ignorance or powerlessness, or were compelled, persuaded, or cajoled by custom, convention, authority, and the well-established order of Society into accepting, a situation in which they could call their own very little of the cake that they and nature and the capitalists were co-operating to produce. And on the other hand the capitalist classes were allowed to call the best part of the cake theirs and were theoretically free to consume it, on the tacit underlying condition that they consumed very little of it in practice. . . . Thus the bluff is discovered; the laboring classes may be no longer willing to forego so largely, and the capitalist classes, no longer confident of the future, may seek to enjoy more fully their liberties of consumption so long as they last, and thus precipitate the hour of their confiscation." pp. 19, 20 and 22.

Do I labor under an obsession, or possibly a delusion, that this, if true, fully explains the mysteries of unemployment?

JOEL HENRY GREENE, M.D.

Chicago, Illinois.

[Note: If this be true, why is there such widespread unemployment in Soviet Russia, where confiscation has already taken place?—Editor]

Militarism in America

Editor of UNITY:

The attention and publicity now being given the London Naval Conference are all to the good. Every sensible person is hoping and working that this effort toward peace may succeed. However, the stellar nature of this attraction should not blind us to what is happening at home. Navies are not the only stumbling blocks to peace. May we call your attention to the following:

1. Congress is granting an increase in the Army budget. In this increase is the largest sum ever appropriated in this country for subsidizing military training in schools and colleges.

2. The navy rides the high seas and is a cause of fear and suspicion to our neighbors. Army officers are going into our own back-yards to play with and teach our children. What do they teach?—that disarmament and international cooperation bring Peace? Let us quote from the official citizenship training manual, now in use, (section 152, headed "Destructive Idealism")—"An impractical and destructive idealism called internationalism is now being propagated by certain foreign agitators and is being echoed and reechoed by many of the nation's 'intellectuals.'"

3. The President condemned the selfish activities of the ship-builders and Mr. Shearer, but now, boys and girls in high schools and colleges, and their parents are beginning to support military training there for what they can get out of it for themselves,—uniforms, prizes, honors, riding horses, summer vacations, pay, and a chance to avoid being common soldiers in another war. School Boards and Trustees favor the training partly because it helps them to meet local expenses.

4. A national organization of "prominent military and civic leaders" has been formed (called the Reserve Officers' Training Corps Association) "to promote and foster the R.O.T.C. in educational institutions." Maj. Gen. Amos A. Fries, of spider-web chart fame, is the president and Lieut.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Levinson on the Consultative Pact

[An interview in the Chicago *Daily News*]

Salmon O. Levinson, well known authority upon international affairs, declared his complete confidence today that American adherence to a properly worded consultative pact at the London naval conference would in no way commit the United States to the use of force in an international quarrel.

Mr. Levinson wants such a pact—one which, without any military commitments, will pledge the United States to confer with other signatories if peace is threatened. He believes adoption of such a treaty is essential to the success of the naval parley, and he holds also that in signing it we would not be breaking our national tradition.

Meanwhile he is hoping confidently for the success of the conference—success which he considers imperative because big navies mean big economic cost and because they constitute a psychological threat to peace. Pessimism about the outlook at London is unwarranted, declared Mr. Levinson, when one stops to consider the crises previous international parleys have weathered.

Those views Mr. Levinson expressed in an interview with a reporter for *The Daily News*. He himself is regarded as the father of the principle for outlawry of war as adopted in the Briand-Kellogg treaty, and his belief in the binding quality of that treaty was fundamental in his belief in the safety of a consultative pact.

"On July 24, 1929, through the proclamation of President Hoover, there came into effect the pact of Paris, frequently called the Briand-Kellogg treaty, which has been accepted and signed by practically all of the nations of the world," he said. "This treaty outlaws war, renounces it completely and under its terms the nations agree never to attempt to settle their disputes 'except by peaceable means.' Consequently," Mr. Levinson added, "no possible moral obligation to use force or to go to war can arise from an agreement to consult with other nations." And he continued:

"In addition, the strongest possible language of course will be used in any consultative provision arrived at in London, stating that under the terms of the treaty there is no commitment on the part of the United States to armed force, no alliance of any kind, and no obligation to join in any defense or to take any other action.

"The treaty might also well provide that the United States is to be the judge of whether or not a crisis has arisen or the peace pact is in danger of being violated."

Mr. Levinson referred in passing to what have been called the "risks for peace," risks which some have thought may lurk in a consultative treaty.

"We have heard much about taking risks for peace," he said. "Many of us feel there is no risk in a consultative pact. But supposing there is. What then? Are we the only nation in the world that is unwilling to risk for peace?"

He asked further why the United States should not, in logic, renounce the four-power Pacific treaty, reached at the Washington conference, if adherence to a five-power agreement to consult is to be banned as dangerous at London. For the treaty proposed at London, said Mr. Levinson, is the same in principle as that into which the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France entered at Washington.

To show how closely the four-power pact principle applies in the current question he quoted as follows from the treaty:

"If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific (ocean) question and involving their said rights, which is not settled by diplomacy, and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

"If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken jointly or separately to meet the exigencies of the particular situation."

American Leadership Sought by Near Eastern Countries in Coming Economic Reforms

American leadership will be sought by most of the Balkan and Near Eastern countries during the next ten years, declares Dr. James L. Barton, greatest American authority on Near Eastern problems.

In a report to the American people on its overseas philanthropic and educational work and religious training during the past decade, which will be published shortly in book form, Dr. Barton reviews the American contribution to postwar reconstruction, and sums up the revolutionary changes which have taken place in Turkey, Greece, Russia and other countries during this period.

"All of these countries," he says, "are entering upon new periods of intellectual, social and economic development. They are breaking with the conservative, hampering traditions of the past and are seeking new methods of modern education, social health and economic betterment. Many enlightened leaders are coming forward from among these different nationals to welcome recognized and trusted experts in the various lines of progress. These experts are necessarily largely to be drawn from America. And the Near Eastern leaders and governments are ready to cooperate with them in promoting the higher interests of their people.

"Foreigners, especially the people of eastern Europe, have observed the disinterested service rendered by organizations such as the Near East Relief in the fields of education, social service, religious training and health. And their hope for the future lies in a continuance of this American service, with the opportunity which it offers to backward peoples of realizing

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Col. Orville Johnson, former secretary of the Reserve Officers' Association, is the executive secretary.

5. This group will have the active cooperation of the Reserve Officers' Association which sends its monthly magazine free to all college students working for commissions. This R. O. A. announced a gift of $30,000 last spring to be devoted to the R.O.T.C. in schools and colleges. When you remember that there are approximately 115,000 commissioned officers in the Reserve and that most of them are leaders in civil life, you can realize the potential political power of this group for the military viewpoint.

6. Congressman Ross A. Collins of the Sub-Committee on Appropriations handling the War Department Bill, said:

"There is a very grave warning of the political dangers of these civilian training agencies in the fact that in a number of cities where there are now Reserve Officers' Training Corps units the press reports that the school boards, or the Chamber of Commerce, or both, have petitioned their Congressmen, or the War Department, or the President to maintain those units regardless of whether the Economy Commission thought them valuable. Members of this House should pause to consider what this means. Is America reaching the state where any suggestion of reducing the military budget is going to bring down on our heads a swarm of petitions to go ahead pouring out the gold that makes these military units shine?"

7. Every peace move of the future may expect to meet such military attitudes, reenforced by the self-interest of those who expect to benefit by a continuation or increase of military appropriations. Our peace workers must recognize militarism in the schools as a major issue.

The campaign against militarism must be supported with every resource of the peace-minded, if we are to prevent the growth of a powerful military-minded force in our public schools, colleges and universities. To support this campaign, in 1930, the Committee on Militarism in Education needs the gifts of as many UNITY readers as feel moved to contribute—checks may be sent to the Committee on Militarism in Education, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City. Information and literature will be sent on request.

ALVIN C. GODDARD, Treasurer.
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higher ideals and higher economic standards.

"The situation in the Near East today is epochal. A new generation of leaders is rising up, which has never been guided by and which does not know the age-long traditions that hitherto have prevented social, moral and religious progress. Many of them are thoroughly educated in modern methods of agriculture and industry and in the use of modern tools. While they are of the East and produced by the East, in their thinking and in their outlook they are Western and progressive. Most of these new leaders are the products of American philanthropy, through education and relief which has been so generously poured into these Bible Lands since the war.

"The children who have felt this American influence are today in a position to become, in the society of their native lands, a mighty element of leaven for permeating that entire society with new, inspiring and constructive ideas. Yet there is still a danger in view of the comparatively small number of these natives graduates of American training, that they will be overwhelmed by the dead weight of the stolid life about them, at the very time when they are in a position to become a mighty force throughout all their countries.

"This is the question which Near East philanthropy is facing today. There is a call and a demand for further efforts throughout the entire area of the Near East. Americans already have the satisfaction of having carried to completion the greatest emergency task in history. But there is a supplementary call for further assistance in a far more constructive task. There is an eager desire in these backward countries for American leadership, and there are expanding opportunities for constructive aid. What will the next chapter be?

Dr. Barton was the advisor of the American government on Near Eastern problems at the Lausanne peace conference, and official representative of minority peoples at the preliminary peace conference in London. He is one of the few men who have the distinction of declining an ambassadorship, that of the post in Turkey during the McKinley administration, to which President Angell of Yale was appointed upon Dr. Barton's recommendation. He has lived or traveled abroad as the head of American missionary, educational and relief activities since 1885, returning to the United States to undertake the active direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He has been the chairman of the Near East Relief from its organization and is in charge of its program of completing its overseas emergency work. His forthcoming book will appraise this work and make formal recommendations for the continuance of certain reconstructive phases of the work which he believes should be carried on until they can be turned over to local agencies as permanent contributions to the welfare of the respective countries.

Opinions On India

"There is no denying the fact that England is administering India for England's benefit and not for India's. It is hard for me to say this, because until I went to India my sympathies were all on the English side. My early education was much in England, and I have many dear personal friends there. But it is the truth and the truth must be told."

—Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, President Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., in an Address before the New York Bar Association.

I was greatly impressed with the physical beauty of the people of India, and still more with their intellectual ability. The students of India struck me as much more studious and more serious in their attitude towards life than the students of America. They seemed conscious of the great part they were destined to play in life. I met with universal testimony to the intellectual keenness of the students. Once I asked an American missionary, "What do you think of the intellectual capacity of the Indian people as a whole?" He answered, "There is no question that it is equal to that of the American people. I think it is even greater."

Professor Edward A. Ross, University of Wisconsin.

"But I find that my love for India has a quality in it now that it did not have in the early days. I went to India through pity, I stay through respect. I love India because she is lovable, I respect her because she is respectable; she has become dearer to me because she is endearing."

—Dr. Stanley Jones, in "Christ of the Indian Road."

"Gentlemen of the Senate, We the U. S. A. can not justify ourselves in signing and sealing an international agreement which thus sanctions and aims to make permanent the practical enslavement of a great nation, and which, making the situation still worse, also gives and guarantees to Britain nearly nine hundred thirty-one thousand additional square miles of territory, to rule and exploit for British benefit, as India has been ruled and exploited."

—Joseph I. France, U. S. Senator from Maryland.

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